Methodology/Chapter II:

Archaeological Investigations at Causton's Bluff, Chatham County, Georgia

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METHODOLOGY

Implicit in any archaeological endeavor is the understanding that human behavior is patterned. Artifacts and other remains left on a site and documents relating to that site should, therefore, reflect that patterning (Deetz 1970:110). When patterns are recognized and explained our knowledge of humankind is expanded. When patterns are identified which do not fit within preexisting or preconcieved configurations research is undertaken to explain their place in the universe. The archaeologist, through interpretive analogy, tries to explain what happened in the past and thus provide history for the sites under investigation.

The rich and varied history of the Georgia coast provides numerous research opportunities for the archaeologist and historian. While many of the questions which are asked are incorported into the generalized framework of the investigator, making the aims of research explicitly known prior to excavation allows for more accurate recovery of information and more explicit interpretive approaches. In this report, several research aims were spelled out in the proposal submitted prior to receiving the contract. These, and others developed during the course of fieldwork, have been divided into two broad classes covering the period before written records and that after documents relating to the site were maintained.

Aboriginal

The prehistoric occupation of Causton's Bluff extends at least 4500 years into the past. It is virtually certain that even earlier occupations were present. Some diagnostic materials have, in fact, been recovered outside the permitting area by amateurs walking along the beach.

Since the 1930's a great deal of work has been accomplished in the Chatham County area (Honerkamp *et al* 1984; Williams 1977). On the basis of this earlier work and the results of the preliminary survey, questions about the prehistoric occupation of Causton's Bluff were formulated to guide the research aims of this project.

In the Savannah area, some cultural periods are not represented in the archaeological record of each site. Three of these cultural periods are the Paleoindian, the Wilmington and the Irene. The Paleoindian stage is presumed to be missing from most sites along the Georgia coast due to the rise of the sea over the last four thousand years. Wilmington phase ceramics are rarely found in the Savannah area and are often missing in the stratigraphy of multicomponent sites. Finally, the Irene phase occurs on certain sites along the coast, but not on all of them. Part of the research interest into the prehistory of Causton's Bluff was directed at learning why these components were missing.

key

1. Black Box Site (09 CHAS 838)
2. Hutting Area (09 CHA 8310)
3. Bombproof Site (09 CHAS 837)
4. Central Battery Site (09 CHAS 839)
5. Glacis Site (09 CHA 8312)
6. Silver Button Site (09 CHAS 834)
7. Broken Sherd Site (09 CHAS 835)
8. Sassafras Site (09 CHAS 836)
9. Marina Site (09 CHA 8311)
10. Wet Blanket Site (09 CHAS 832)
11. Indian Point Site (09 CHAS 831)

- Domestic site
- Military site
- Prehistoric site
- Domestic site with major prehistoric component

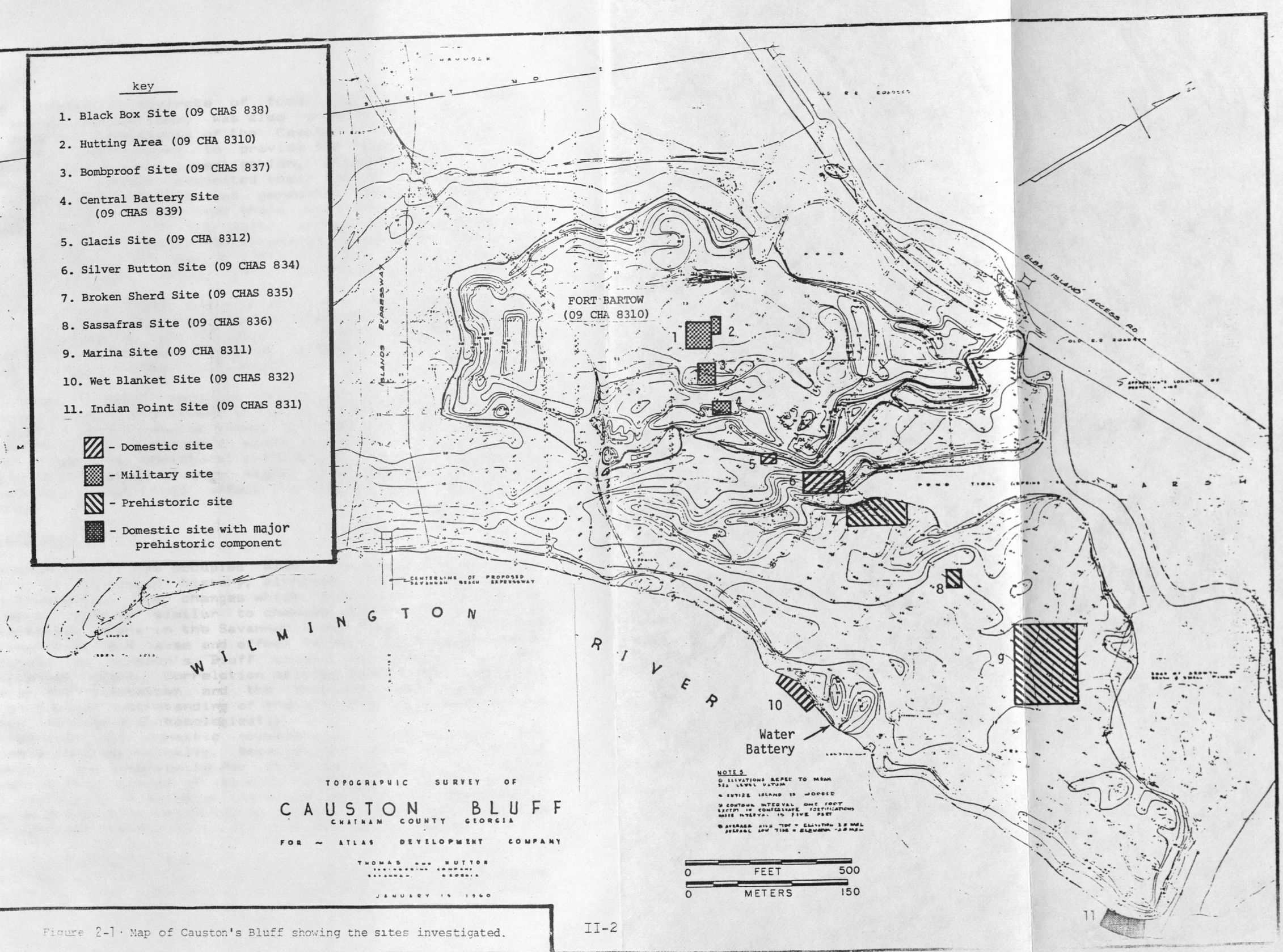

Figure 2-1. Map of Causton's Bluff showing the sites investigated.

The classic triumvirate of food, clothing and shelter present among peoples today was also present in the past. That is, the original inhabitants of the Causton's Bluff area had to utilize their environment to provide the necessities of life. During the archaeological investigation, attempts were made to learn how the Indians exploited their natural surroundings to make a living. This interest was generated when it was noted during the Phase I survey that there was a lack of shell. Since shell had been one of the major indicators of aboriginal occupation along the coast (Honerkamp et al 1984:24), the sites on Causton's Bluff were somewhat different. Why and how they were different from shell midden sites was a focus of the project research.

On some of the sites, the preliminary survey suggested that there was a relationship between certain ceramic types and the nearness of water. As the mitigation phase developed, attempts were made to correlate aboriginal ceramic types with land elevation and/or distance from water to see if there was a relationship.

Changes in water salinity could account for some of the differences noted on the sites. It would be difficult to assess water salinity in prehistoric times, but the pollen samples might reveal different ground covers which could reveal something of the water freshness. Additional information relating to the last 200 years of documented history might also suggest changes in water salinity which could affect the natural resources of the bluff area.

Historic/Domestic

Causton's Bluff was occupied almost continuously for over 200 years of documented history, although the focus of land use changed frequently. The changes which took place on Causton's Bluff were probably similar to changes affecting the lives of many plantation owners in the Savannah area. These can be looked at systematically and cause and effect relationships established. The changes on Causton's Bluff should be visible in the archaeological record. Correlation between historically recorded changes on the plantation and the archaeological record will enable a greater understanding of the effect of external factors on status indicators archaeologically.

Three distinct domestic occupations after Causton are discernable archaeologically. Because the site was occupied continuously, the opportunity for studying change in plantation life over a long period of time is possible. In addition, the spatial distancing of sites on the bluff provides an opportunity to examine differences which may be based on wealth and/or status as they manifest themselves in the archaeological record.

Domestic Sites Research Design

Numerous scholars have addressed plantation archaeology in the southeast. Most approaches have attempted to show patterning

in archaeological sites (Adams 1986, South 1977b, Moore 1981, Honerkamp 1980, Otto 1984). The search for patterns has led to correlations between archaeological data and status, waste disposal and duration of site occupation. Each of these variables is important to the current study of Causton's Bluff, a site five miles from the city of Savannah.

Plantation archaeology has been most characterized by John Otto's investigations at Cannon's Point, Saint Simons Island, Gerogia. Otto was able to correlate status with vessel form and decorative elements, thus providing a useful status indicator for slave, overseer and planter (Otto 1984).

Sue Mullins Moore has carried the study of status a step further. She hypothesized that economic position may be reflected among archaeological sites as well as social status (1981). For example, a small planter might possess cultural material similar to that of a large plantation's overseer. Moreover, the slaves on a large plantation might be using higher status items than those on a small plantation.

Thus, plantation size affects both planter status and the material goods available to the site's inhabitants. External factors may also affect how prosperous a planter and his charges may be. Causton's Bluff was occupied continuously for 205 years. During 177 of these years rice was the dominant crop. Geographical conditions also made the land suitable for cotton cultivation, with periods of grape and mulberry cultivation as well. Crop prices surely affected the success of the plantation. These prices and the resulting affluence of the land owners are testable historically.

In addition to status investigations, patterns affected by site duration may be tested. Stanley South (1977a) proposed two artifact patterns which complement each other: the Carolina Artifact Pattern and the Frontier Artifact Pattern. The Carolina Artifact Pattern is marked by a larger amount of domestic materials than architectural remains on a site. The Frontier/Architecture pattern reverses this ratio with the presence of more architectural-related artifacts than domestic debris. These patterns reveal distinct differences in the archaeological assemblages in frontier situations versus established domestic or urban situations. The patterns exhibit differences in artifact percentages but, when tested on sites of varied duration, show some correlation with length of occupation (Ellers 1984).

Causton's Bluff offered an opportunity to test these patterns. Plantation use followed a period of frontier-like occupation when the Confederate occupation of the site shifted the focus from agriculture to defense in 1862. Since fortifications often exhibit combination of mainstream and frontier patterning (Polhemus 1978:276-7), comparison of domestic sites at Causton's Bluff with the military sites may reveal patterning similar to that identified by South. If South's patterns are identified, the short-term military components on the bluff should exhibit the frontier artifact pattern and the

long-term military sites and the domestic sites should exhibit the Carolina artifact pattern.

Frontier process has been tested on colonial sites in Georgia by Honerkamp (1980). Honerkamp states that "the frontier appears with the first permanent settlement and ceases to exist with the leveling off of settlement growth and the stabilization of settlement patterning" (Honerkamp 1980:35). Savannah, and therefore Causton's Bluff, exhibited frontier tendencies but soon after establishment surpassed them. Savannah became "the nexus of social, political and economic life in early Georgia" (Honerkamp 1980:42). The proximity of Causton's Bluff to Savannah suggests that sites on the bluff would show rapid and innovative development. Therefore, except in cases where site occupation was of brief duration, frontier patterns would be rare on Causton's Bluff.

Another possible explanation for frontier patterns on archaeological sites is proximity to the central core of the site. For example, a large plantation with a center of domestic activity (the "big house") would exhibit a Carolina type artifact pattern at its core. As distance from this center increases, the likelihood of finding domestic artifacts would decrease and a frontier/architecture artifact pattern might be evident. In essence, this patterning is identical to that developed by South (1977a) but on a more limited spatial scale. The difference is that the plantation is the area within which activity occurs rather than a geographic region.

The plantation can be viewed as a self-contained community exhibiting a central place and dependent outlying areas. This model would account for overlap in domestic areas. Thus, the plantation owner's domain would constitute the center of the plantation universe with overseer's quarters, then slave's quarters and other outbuildings representing a heirarchy of social, political and economic behavior. The hierarchy represented should be evident in the archaeological record. If this were indeed the case, status, whether social or economic, would be spatial as well as ideological.

It is obvious that differences in the social and economic levels of various groups on a plantation existed. Slaves, by the very nature of their existence as chattel property could not be regarded as the equals of their owners. Similarly, the white overseer and the black driver would have higher status than the slaves they supervised. With higher status came access to goods now found in the archaeological record. Identification of status differences in the archaeological record could suggest ways of identifying the type of people who lived on the site. John Otto (1984) and Sue Mullins Moore (1981) have proposed ways in which these differences can be identified and tested. Thus, their models provided ready-made hypotheses for testing against our data.

As time passed, some stylistic changes occurred in the material culture of the Georgia coast. While some of these changes could be masked by economic status, others clearly reveal

distinct temporal correlations. An example would be a coin with a date which establishes a terminus post quem, or point after which that site must date. In order to understand changes on Causton's Bluff, a simple chronology of the sites must be established based on a combination of documentary sources and artifactual assemblages of the site. When differences in the spatial distribution of materials or between types of patterns are noted which are not consistent, either internally, or in terms of other sites, explanations must be sought.

Since the focus of the plantation apparently shifted from grain to cotton to rice, was there any difference in the ownership of the property when it was a rice plantation as opposed to a cotton plantation? Was there a difference when the plantation was utilized to grow long staple, as opposed to short staple cotton. These questions relate to the environment as well as the creation of the archaeological record. Since rice required fresh water, cotton higher ground and certain soils, what was being grown at any one time could provide environmental information which could be used to explain the material culture of sites dating from certain time periods. Fluctuations in agricultural production and pricing could also affect what the archaeological record contained.

Many of the plantation sites which have been investigated are not located close to large commercial cities. Is there a difference between a plantation located a few miles from Savannah and one further down the coast and away from the sounds or river channels? How would that difference manifest itself, if it did exist? Causton's Bluff might provide information relating to these questions, just as it might raise additional questions.

Status of people can change over time due to fluctuating economic or social conditions. As an example, would the material assemblage represented at Thomas Causton's property differ from that of Robert Habersham's overseer? Since they occupied different social levels and different temporal periods, would there be differences? Similarily, would there be indications of different status between slaves and freedmen in the Silver Button midden? Some of the questions have been addressed by George Miller, who devised a means of evaluating the economic status of a site based on the prices of cream colored ware (1980). Since the prices of cream colored ware changed through time, it is possible to correlate those changes with other wares to determine cost. The more expensive ceramics, over time, tend to be seen as reflecting economic status over time. There are suggestions, however, that this process might not be as accurate as one would desire. Adams (1986) has found that some known slave sites seem to have a higher cream colored index than known owner sites.

Would it be possible to identify certain individuals with certain sites? Would documents and oral tradition provide clues as to people living on the sites? These questions could be answered by the documents but they might also be answered by certain archaeological materials which might, for example, have initials on them. Information of this sort recovered from an

archaeological site could aid in the chronological ordering and identification of the site in question.

With these ideas in mind, the archaeology on Causton's Bluff will be examined and compared with historical data to understand the progression of the plantations and domestic life on Causton's Bluff.

Military Sites Research Design

There are several research questions which must be addressed in dealing with the military component of the sites on Causton's Bluff. Some sources suggest that Fort Bartow served as a Confederate headquarters and hospital. The weaponry associated with the different occupations might provide information about the importance of the site and the occupants at certain times. The artifacts might allow identification of different military occupations in different areas.

The specific military occupations, Revolutionary War, War of 1812 and Civil War, have different assemblages of material culture. It should be possible to differentiate different temporal periods on the basis of the artifacts recovered from features and sites because the material, including musket balls, buttons, gun parts and shoes, changed through time.

The research aims on the historic topics have been articulated under both military and domestic sites. There is, however, a difference between these two classes of sites which will also be addressed. Is it, for example, possible to distinguish between a civilian domestic site and a military headquarters/hospital in terms of the archaeological record?

In terms of an overview of the bluff, is it possible that a chronology based on artifactual data can be related to the documents derived from the last 250 years of occupation? In this sense, can historical archaeology provide information not already known from the written record? Can the material culture add to the documentary sources to provide a deeper understanding of the past? Finally, can the documents, in the light of archaeologically recovered materials, then provide additional information about the past?

Historical Sources

In order to answer these questions a number of sources were utilized. These included historical documentation already presented in the historical section as citations. The primary sources include the Chatham County Deed Books, wills, probate records, court documents, newspapers and letters. Secondary sources include memoirs, earlier histories and journal articles, oral history and interpretation of the archaeological record.

Following the Civil War, the official records of both sides were compiled in a series of works concentrating on the Armies (Scott 1882-) and the Navies (Rawson et al. 1901-). These materials consist of the documents available in the late nineteenth century. Additional official records have since been located. Some are stored in the National Archives, others in

local depositories. All represent the official statement about activities undertaken by the military during the Civil War. The possibility always exists that these materials might well be self-serving, but comparison between different texts can reveal inconsistencies and lead to better interpretations. There are also state records dealing with Georgia's role during the Revolution and War of 1812 which document some aspects of the military occupation on Causton's Bluff.

Newspapers represent both a contemporary source of material and, much after the fact, often provide interpretative information about sites. This is certainly true of Causton's Bluff. Personal memoirs of participants provide limited source material. Often this information comes across in passing, and is particularly valuable since it was not intended to be used for the purposes to which is has since been put. Thus, the reference to War of 1812 earthworks by a Confederate soldier is of particular significance in demonstrating that the area saw military activity during the early nineteenth century.

Local histories contain much useful material. Provided it is used in conjunction with first person accounts, official records and comparison with other sourcess, a local history can be a rich source of information. Also, materials organized for more recent journal articles must be examined with regard to context and consistency.

Another source of information was also utilized. Maps showing the project area have been in existence since at least 1751. The maps provide a rich source of information relating to the historic sites. A brief analysis of each map provides a capsule history of the bluff and describes the source utilized.

A large number of maps were examined in the study of Causton's Bluff. There were problems in varying scale, lack of detail, missing dates, altered shore lines, inaccurate portrayal and plans which were not carried to completion. Nevertheless, the cartographic record of Causton's Bluff must be seen as relatively complete.

The Yonge and DeBrahm Map (1758)(Plate 2-1) is the earliest map showing any detail of the project area. It was drawn some 20 years after Thomas Causton first built on the bluff, yet it shows only the most cursury information. The primary information deals with the Wilmington River (then called Augustine Creek) and the the edge of the bluff.

Even with this generalized picture of the site, there is some useful information. The northeast point is shown much as it looked in the nineteenth century. Just above the point extending into the river, there is an indication of a small creek. This would be modern-day Habersham Creek. There is also the suggestion of another inlet at Indian Point and this may be suggestive of a tidal slough. No other information is shown on the map.

The D'Estaing Map (1780) (Plate 2-2), shows Causton's Bluff without much detail. It does show the road going to the edge of

the bluff and the positions of three groups of the French Army. It does not show the slough or any houses, but does show a road going off toward Timber Landing Creek. Habersham Creek is also shown although it is not named.

This map poses questions because the location of an obvious structure seems to be in the marsh if we presume the first creek west of the Wilmington River (Saint Augustine Creek) is Habersham (or Runaway Negro) Creek. The landmass beyond Habersham Creek would not be high enough to allow a building to be located there. Thus, the first creek west of the the Wilmington River might be the slough. If so, then the structure shown on this map, may well be the Glacis Site. It is in the right place if the first watercourse shown is the slough, rather than the creek. Admittedly, this is a big question mark, but this map may show the Glacis Site as a structure with roads leading to it in 1779. Dating of the Glacis Site structure is difficult and this map might identify it as being present during the Revolutionary War. This is crucial to our understanding of the site because it yielded a French military button as well as ceramic and numismatic materials indicating an eighteenth century date.

The French Map #1 (1780)(Plate 2-3) also shows Causton's Bluff as the French drew it following their embarcation. It differs from the D'Estaing Map in that the slough is shown as a creek running into the interior of the bluff. Runaway Negro Creek is shown connecting to the Savannah River rather than curving around to the Wilmington River. Timber Landing Creek is shown running in a southerly direction rather than west.

The road along which the French withdrew runs to the edge of the bluff. A second road runs from this point, first northwest, then north to a structure located an equal distance south of the bluff edge and west of the slough. This seems too far north and west to be the Glacis Site. It's location would suggest the "negroe village" of the Writer's Map were it more than one structure.

Another road is shown running from the western edge of the bluff, curving southeastward toward the corner of the bluff at Timber Landing Creek. A structure is shown at that point as well. Three military units are drawn up across the bluff, presumably the rear guard.

The French Map #2 (1780)(Plate 2-4) is similar to the D'Estaing Map and the French Map #1. The slough is again shown penetrating over three quarters of the bluff in a southern direction. The road to the northern structure begins just east of the bluff edge, approximately where the old access road into the bluff began. The structure at the end of the road is shown almost centered in the square of the fenced plot, midway between the northern edge of the bluff, the western edge of the bluff and the slough.

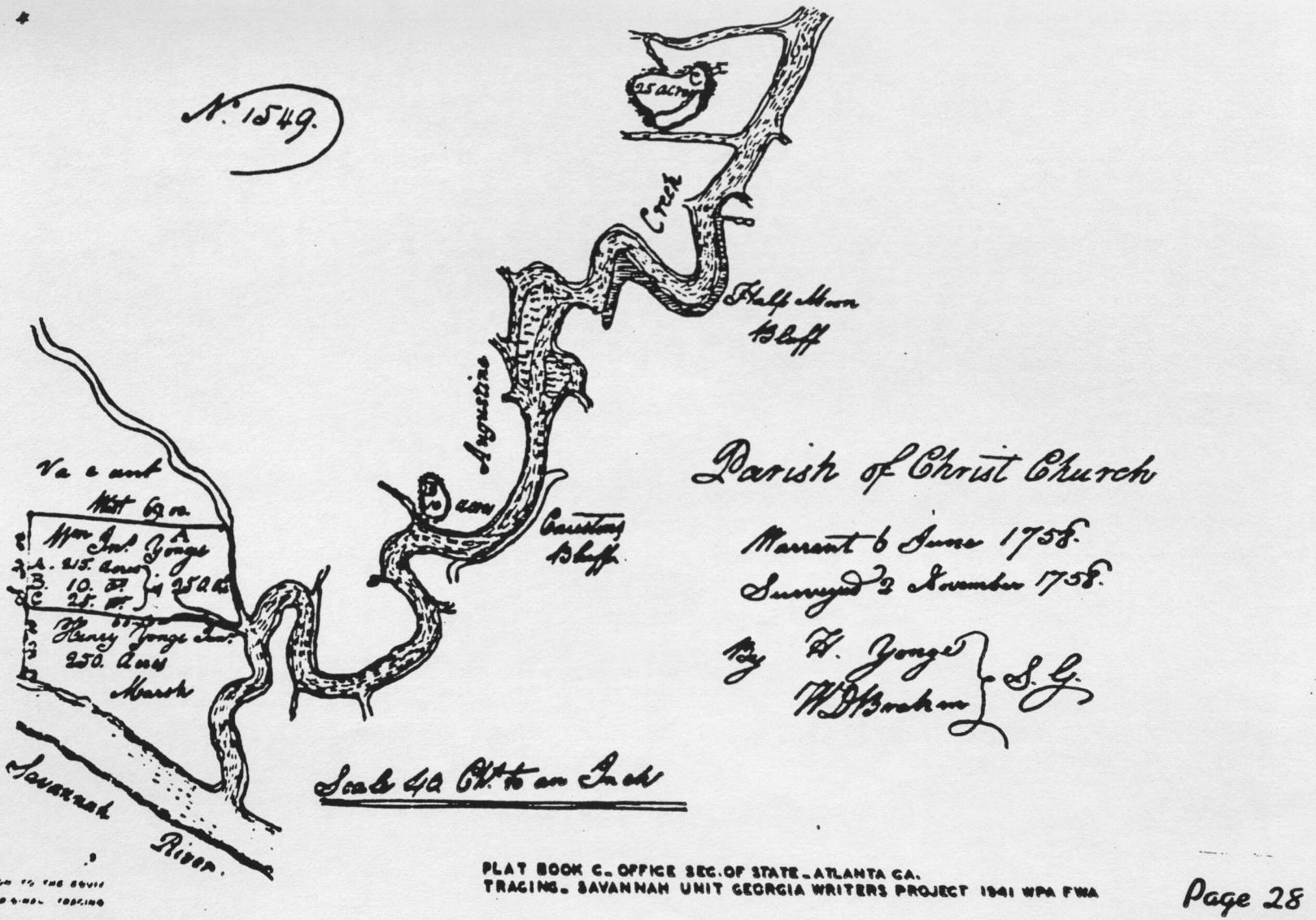

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Plate 2-1 (from Yonge and DeBrahm, 1758)

Plate 2-2

(detail, from D'Estaing, 1780)

The main road continues straight to the edge of the bluff. Another road beginning just before the high ground of the bluff is reached, curves to the southeastern corner of the bluff but no structure is shown at its end. A structure is, however, shown where the roads divere on the western edge of the bluff. This is not shown on French Map #1 or the D'Estaing Map.

This map also shows quite clearly that the northern part of the bluff was cleared and seems to indicate that all of the bluff north of the southern road was clear. If so, then this clearance had to have been done by Causton and Williamson.

The 1780 Campbell Map (Plate 2-5) shows Causton's Bluff at the end of a road from Savannah. The illlustration shows that most of the bluff was wooded, except for the higher ground on the eastern side adjacent to the Wilmington River. The slough appears to be shown on the northern edge of the bluff. If it is, then the bluff was cleared at least as far west as a north-south line drawn through the slough. Presumably, this is the area cleared by Causton for his orchard and fields prior to 1750.

Campbell does not show a ferry at Indian Point. He does not show a road to Indian Point. This is important because he should have been concerned with the military potential of a ferry. Since Campbell does not show the ferry, then it probably may not have existed in 1780.

At the eastern end of the road from Savannah, there appears to be writing. It is very difficult to make out what is written there because the writing seems to be over a series of dark blocks. On other sites, these are clearly indicative of buildings. Since the blocks are not on the bluff edge, they do not appear to represent Thomas Causton's house which seemingly sat on the edge of the river (Stephens 1740).

The only other site encountered during the survey which has the location and the dating is the Glacis Site. The mean ceramic date for the Glacis Site was 1790 suggesting that the site existed in 1780.

The writing has a "C", or a "G", as the first letter. The next letters are difficult to determine but could be an unknown letter, then an "s", a "t", another unknown letter followed by an "o" and an "n". This is highly suggestive of Causton, or as it often appeared in the nineteenth century "Costains" and "Carston". Oddly enough, a French map from the same time period (D'Estaing 1780) spells it "Cofrin".

Ravenel Map. (Plate 2-6) This 1815 map is described as a copy of the Fenwick Map which has not been located. It does, however, include references to the estate of Miles Brewton who died in 1775 (Granger 1983:31). The map shows the borders of the bluff, here identified as tract 7, and little else. The slough is shown as a slight indentation on the northern edge of the bluff. Since this map was drawn in 1815, but apparently represents a copy of the 1785 Fenwick Map which has not been found, the details should portray the bluff as it was in 1785.

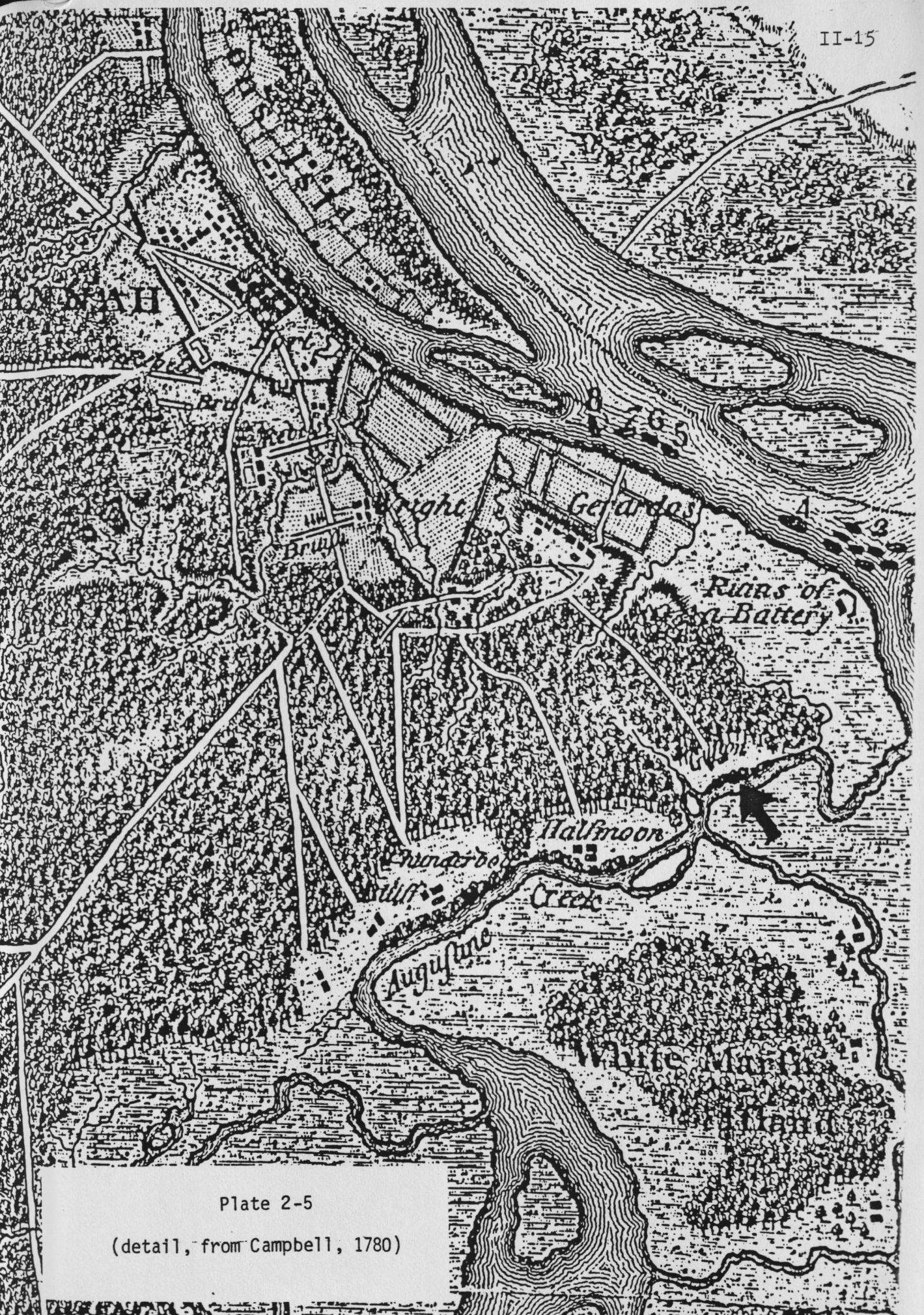

Plate 2-5

(detail, from Campbell, 1780)

This map clarifies obvious additions on the Writers Map (1983) but it does not show any structures. The only modifications of the land are a proposed drainage ditch running to the northwest corner of the bluff from Twickenham. This drainage ditch may be a canal discussed in the court case (Bowman Papers).

McKinnon Map (1816) (Plate 2-7) This map reflects the greater knowledge of the Savannah area and the expanding road network of Chatham County. Causton's Bluff is shown with a road crossing it leading to the ferry at Indian Point. No structural details are shown but the slough running between the Silver Button and the Sassafras Sites is clearly indicated.

This map is interesting in that this is the first representation of the slough being long and narrow with an extension into the interior. None of the earlier maps show this land form and a walk along its banks indicates that the more inland portion was excavated. The map may reflect changes in the landscape which were discussed in the drawn out litigation involving McQueen and Bowman. Among other things discussed in the various depositions was the possibility of a canal at Causton's Bluff. The canal under discussion might actually be shown as the proposed drainage ditch shown on the Ravenel Map (Ravenel 1815). If this 1816 map does show changes made after 1800, then the slough was extended into the interior of the bluff by McQueen during the period shortly after 1800 since the slough is shown on earlier maps as a slight indentation on the north edge of the bluff. An early nineteenth century alteration of the slough would also preclude relating it to the Civil War fortifications. The 1816 map also clarifies the Ravenel Map because of the change in the slough. The later map shows changes made since the 1785 Fenwick Map was drawn. Even though the Ravenel Map was drawn in 1815, it does not show the slough changes, indicating its closer resemblance to the situation in 1785 rather than 1815. The presence of the road running to Indian Point provides us with the earliest date for the ferry on Causton's Bluff.

The Hughes Map (Hughes 1852)(Fig. 2-2) is a survey map of the Causton's Bluff area done at the time Robert Habersham was acquiring property on the bluff. It exists today in a badly damaged state and in two pieces. The map shows the entire bluff from Timber Landing Creek to Habersham Creek. It is especially helpful in showing the locations of a barn, a negro settlement and a mansion. The road network on this map shows a road running to Indian Point where a moveable bridge was located during the Civil War (Boutelle 1864). The ferry may have been located there as early as 1816 (McKinnon 1816). Information acquired after field work was terminated points to a structure in the vicinity of the ferry which may be the operator's residence.

The map does not show any distinctive land feature which would enable accurate identification of the cultural features. The "negro settlement" seems due north of the mansion. The

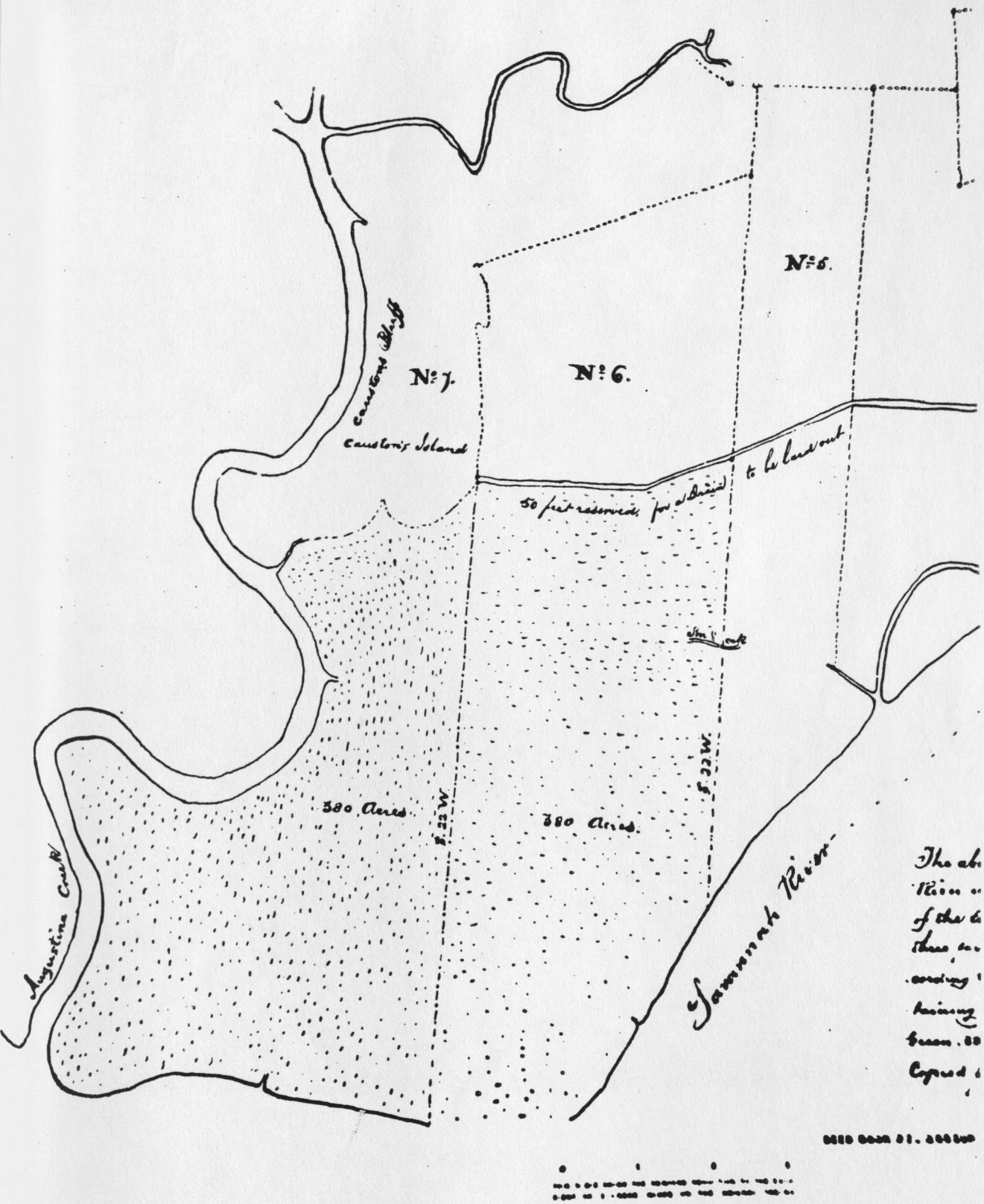

Plate 2-6

(detail, from Ravenel, 1815)

Plate 2-7

(detail, McKinnon, 1815)

absence of any indentation which might be interpreted as the slough makes pinpointing these sites difficult. It is tempting, however, to link the Glacis Site with the "mansion" and the Silver Button Site with the eastern end of the "negro Settlement." If the Glacis Site is the "mansion" would it then be the Causton house? The precise location of the "barn," which might be Blodgett's (Granger 1983:frontispiece), is unknown but certainly outside the permitting area of the project as it is northwest of the village.

The map does provide good evidence for access to the bluff from Savannah since the road to Causton's Bluff is plainly labeled. This can be linked with the extant street system in east Savannah where Causton's Bluff Road is still marked in places. This evidence is important for detailing Confederate movements.

The "Plan of Fort Bartow" (Anonymous 1863)(Plate 2-8) seems to be a Confederate map drawn during alterations to the fortifications suggested by Confederate engineers in 1863. This interpretation is made because the map shows an enclosed fortification as well as a water battery on Indian Point. The original Fort Bartow was the battery on Indian Point prior to construction of the enclosed work. Since the "Plan" does not include the water battery and the line of traverses and parapets closer to President Street, this map dates before 1864.

The map does not show the ferry but some docking area must have been present because troops crossed the river at this point. If the ferry dock were still present, it may have been the point where the Confederate ironclads Atlanta and Savannah and the steamer Ida tied up when they came to Causton's Bluff. This would suggest an area of relatively deeper draft along the river's edge which has been altered by the intercoastal waterway and resultant realignment of the channel since the 1920's.

The map shows four bombproofs indicating that it was a working map used during construction of the earthen structure now known as Fort Bartow. Only three bombproofs exist today. The fourth, or western one, appears to have been started but not finished. This determination is made because the fourth bompbproof location consists of only a series of parallel holes. Finally, the western bombproof does not appear on the maps drawn by Union cartographers (see below) after the evacuation so it is not possible that the bombproof was built and the soil then removed.

The plan does not show the location of the Black Box Site. This is odd because later Union maps do show a structure here. The map clearly details the armament of the fort and indicates positions where additional cannon would be emplaced. It does not show magazines, perhaps because they were not yet planned or under construction.

The map does show two additional features relevant to the project. These are the Central Battery Site which was a short segment of recessed curtain wall created by reentrant angles where cannon were mounted. The map demonstrates that the Central

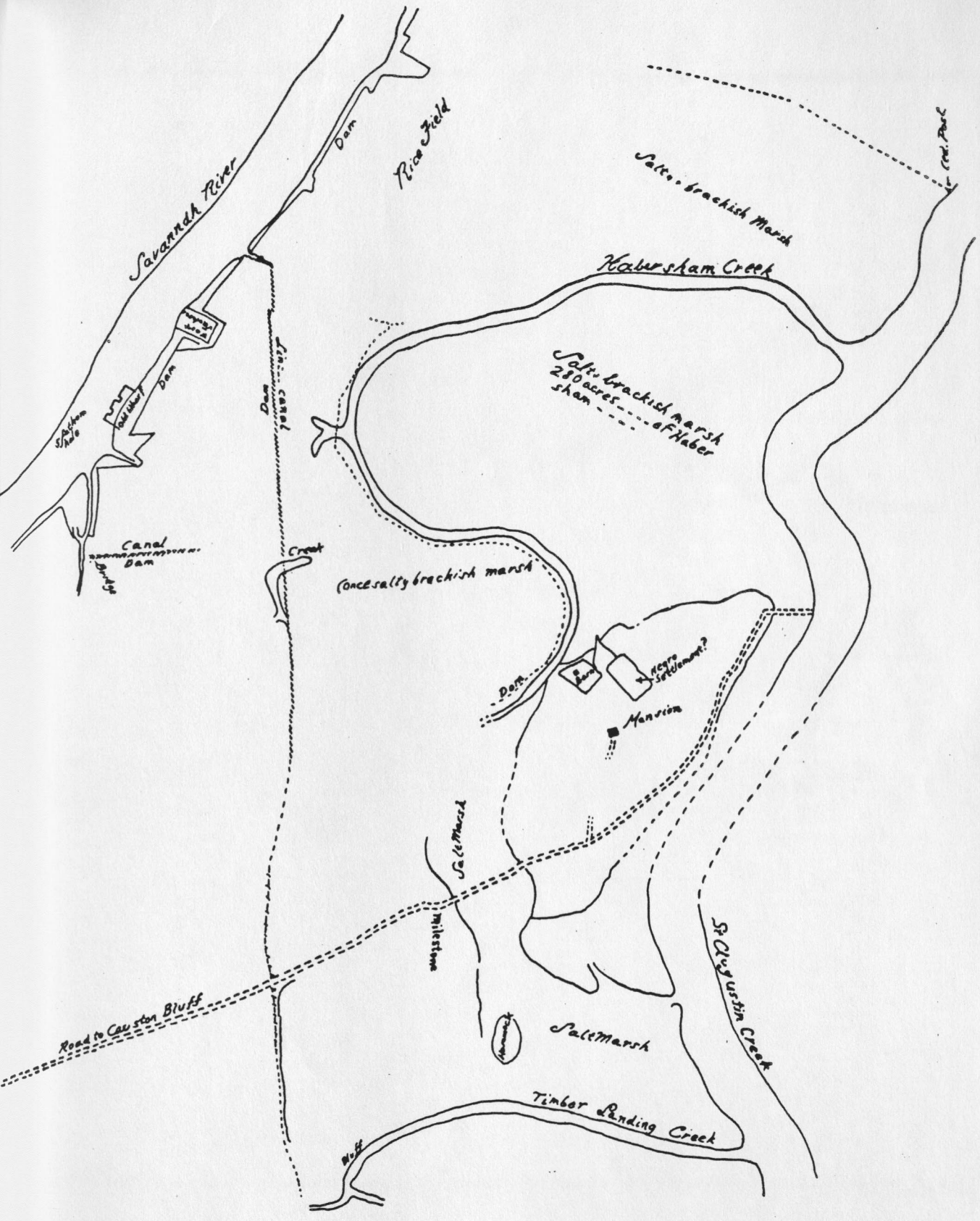

Figure 2-2: Redrawing from Hughes Map (1852).

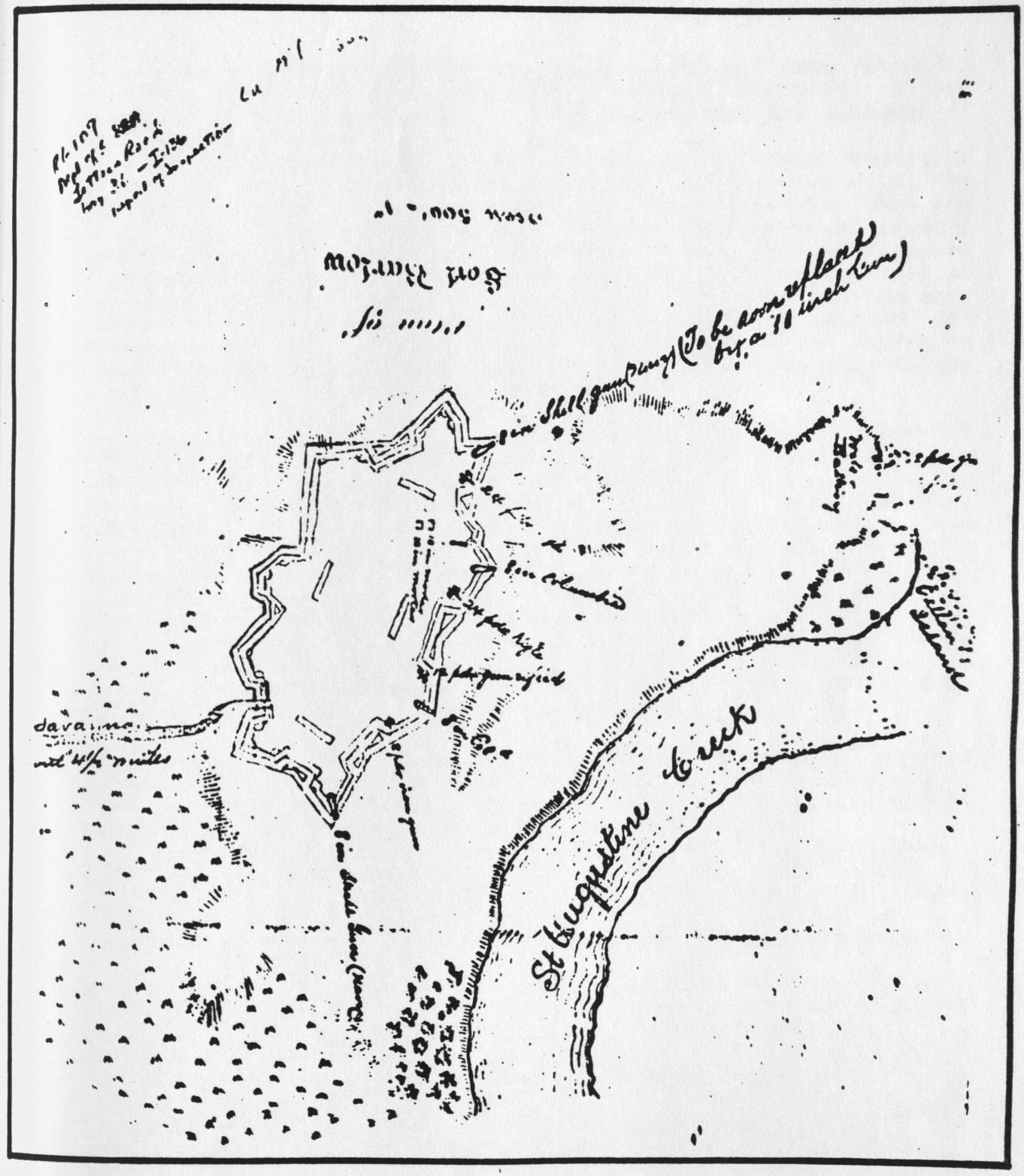

Plate 2-8

Map of Fort Bartow (Anonymous, 1863)

Battery is a misnomer because no cannon are shown there. It would be better identified as an infantry fighting position, a fact confirmed by archeological work which did not recover evidence of heavy gun platforms.

A final concurrence with the landscape is that the tidal slough is shown as a depression east of the fort wall. The depression extends a considerable distance southward from the marsh area. The representation of the slough in its present configuration as early as 1865 has implications for its interpreted use and the relationship between structures built on the bluff before the war. The slough would have limited easy access between points which are thought to be related (Wet Blanket Site, Glacis, and Silver Button) simply by being an obstacle which had to be crossed. It would also have made access to the outlying batteries more difficult.

Anonymous 1864 -(Not shown) This manuscript map is undated and unsigned. This map was obviously drawn by a Confederate since it refers to "Yankee trash." It is not accurate but does show how confused land-oriented people can become in the estaurine environment of the Georgia coast. The person who drew the map was quite familiar with sites south of Thunderbolt but had only passing knowledge of the defenses east of Savannah. It is clear that his perception of the location of various defensive structures was oriented toward Skidaway Island and Isle of Hope rather than Causton's Bluff. Yet, he apparently considered Causton's Bluff worthy of inclusion. While it presents something of the landsman's worldview, it contributes nothing material to the study of the Causton's Bluff defenses (Anonymous 1864).

The Bischoff Map (Not shown) dates to circa 1864-1868 on internal evidence. It is more concerned with the main defense line around Savannah. It is drawn over an earlier McKinnon map which may date as early as 1800 since the city has very few squares.

Causton's Bluff is shown with a fortification covering virtually the entire bluff. The trace of the fortification is neither clear nor, apparently, accurate. It resembles the later Platen Map (1870) in this regard. The Bischoff map also shows a road running through the fort from Savannah but no other details.

Boutelle Map (Not shown) - This map was created by C. O. Boutelle in December 1864. The date is suggestive and confusing. It may be that this map was created immediately prior to the evacuation of Savannah in anticipation of a Federal assault on the city. It is more likely that the map was made immediately after Union forces occupied the city. If the latter case is correct, then this map is probably one of many preliminary field maps used by Poe in creating his map of the Savannah defenses in early 1865. Boutelle had been conducting survey activities along the Georgia coast for the Union Navy since at least June 1862 (Boutelle 1862) and this chart is in keeping with his earlier operations. As Union forces moved further inland, his work area would move along with them.

This is a good possibility since the 1864 map contains illustrations of individual forts similar to those shown by Poe. In that regard, the Boutelle Map can be divided into two parts. The first part is the overview of the St. Augustine Creek (now Wilmington River) defenses. The second part would be the detailed illustrations of individual forts.

In terms of the overview, the map shows the enclosed work, the reentrant and salient angles of the river line, the battery at Indian Point and a bridge across the river. A sizeable marsh area is shown east of Indian Point at the bridge. The slough is not shown and the details are not clear.

The detailed view of Causton's Bluff is very helpful and leads one to suggest that it was probably drafted prior to the Union occupation. This determination is possible because the three completed bombproofs are shown but have the word magazine written on them and crossed out. Such is not the case with this detail of the structures shown on the Poe Map (1865) completed after the evacuation of Savannah. Five magazines (all outside the permitting area) are shown within the enclosed work.

The Black Box Site is shown as an outline with a central interior line running perpendicular to the Bombproof. There appears to be writing on the line but this is not clear. It may be that this is the roofline of a gabled roof and that the blur on the west end is a chimney. The slightly rectangular nature of the feature at the location of the Black Box Site does not agree with the archaeological remains. A porch on the structure noted during the excavations could, however, have made the building rectangular and the chimney is in the right place.

The Central Battery site is shown without artillery. The traverse just to the south of the right-of-way is visible. The bombproof has no detail worth mentioning beyond that it is regularly rectangular.

The detailed map of the works on Causton's Bluff also shows a covered way leading to the Water Battery and a series of traverses and parapets south of the Water Battery which have since eroded. The salient and reentrant angles running from the Water Battery to the works on Indian Point are also shown but there are no details of the earthwork at the point.

There is a road running down to the marsh and a wharf just north of the northern edge of the Indian Point. The road then runs southeast to the bridge over the river. This road would have to have been corderoyed or placed on pilings because of the marsh at this point. The bridge was apparently a floating bridge with a removable gap to allow ships to pass through. Documents suggest that this bridge may have been emplaced as early as 1862 (Lawton 1862) when troops crossed over to Whitemarsh Island.

The Water Battery is shown as having four gun positions. Two of these faced downstream in the direction of Thunderbolt. The other two faced northwards toward the Savannah River. A magazine was also shown. This map is important in that erosion has so altered the Water Battery that it is difficult to orient oneself with regard to its features.

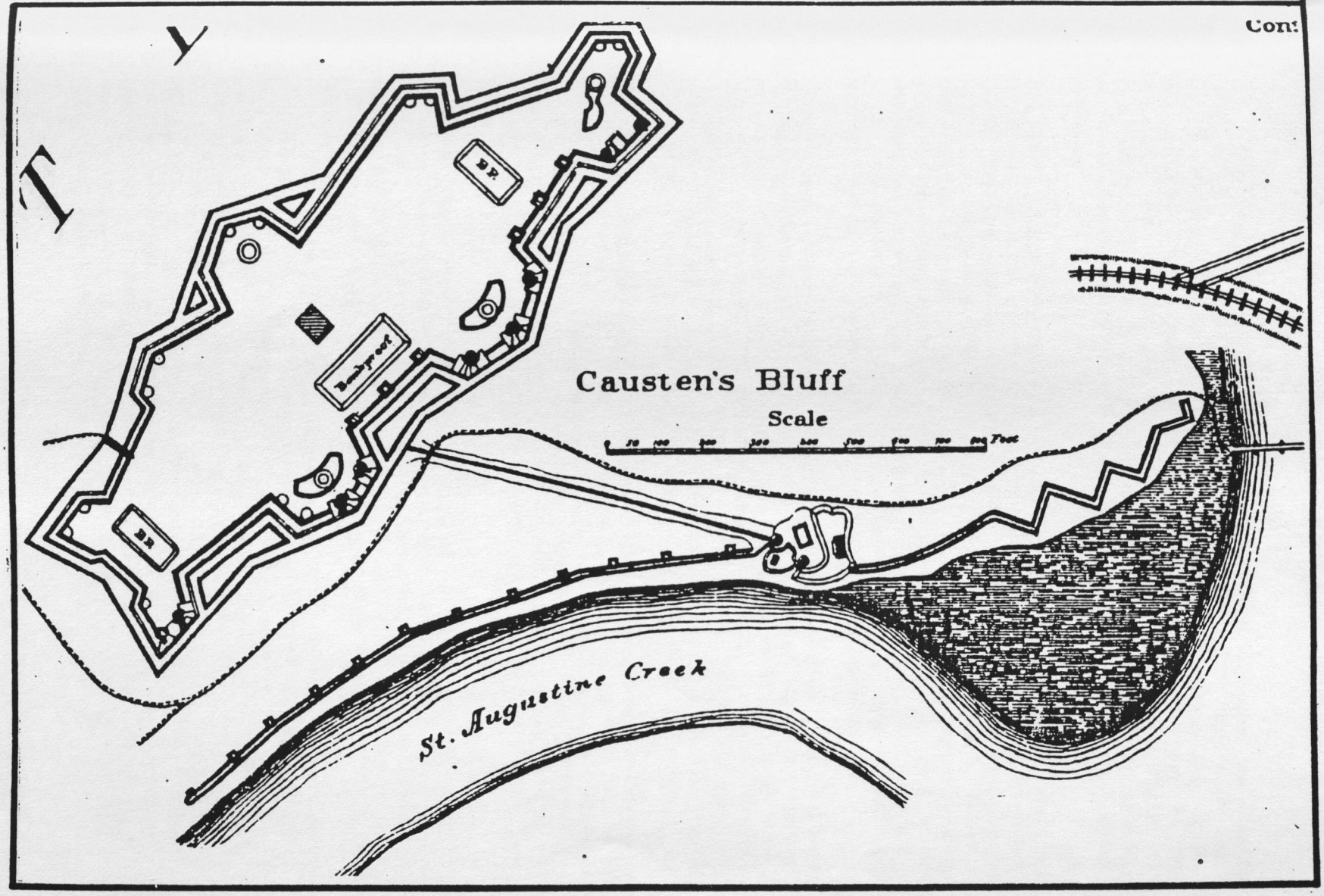

Plate 2-9 Map of Fort Bartow (detail, Poe, 1866)

The enclosed work (Fort Bartow) is shown as having nine pieces of artillery. All of these were on the side facing the water. Emplacements for locating 17 more cannon are also shown. These may have been temporary platforms placed on the earth similar to those shown at Fort McAllister (Plate 5-4). No estimation of the size of these artillery pieces is given but the earlier Confederate draft of the site suggests they were fairly large.

The Poe Map (1865)(Plate 2-9) represents the knowledge obtained by Union forces after the occupation of Savannah. The details of Fort Bartow have already been discussed. There are very few differences between this map and the Boutelle Map. These reflect corrections made after Union forces were able to inspect the site. The importance of the site is shown by its being specially marked on the large map. Since most of the information dealing with the enclosed work has already been presented under the Boutelle Map, it will not be further considered.

London Map (Not shown) - This 1865 map was found in the Thomas Gamble Collection at the Georgia Historical Society. It does not show any details but does link Causton's Bluff with the rest of the city defenses. It was prepared for an unknown issue of the Illustrated London News sometime in early 1865. It does provide a clearly visible view of the road networks in Chatham County and the generalized locations of the main defense points.

Official Records Map (Scott 1882)(Not shown) This map is a composite view of the Coastal Georgia defenses drawn for inclusion in the Offical Records. As published, it does not show great detail and is mentioned here for completeness. It is interesting to note that the bluff area is shown as virtually completely fortified, a similarity also noted on the Poe (1865) map.

Platen Map (Plate 2-10) - This 1870 map reveals continuities between the pre-war 1851 Hughes Map and the post-war period in that it places a structure at the approximate location of the Black Box Site, shows a settlement in the same location as that on the Hughes Map and provides indications of the road network on the bluff.

Unfortunately, it also shows the enclosed earthwork at the location of the Indian Point battery rather than southwest of the village. This mislocation of a seventeen-acre earth enclosure indicates other errors may be present as well. The map also does not show the Water Battery or the slough.

These comments are made to indicate the problems with correlating maps from different time periods concerned with different types of landscape recording. The continuity exhibited with the village and the Black Box Site suggests these were pre-war in nature and that they may have affected the placement of the fortifications on the bluff.

Tebeau Map (Not shown) - This map represents the results of a survey of the Causton Bluff area in 1885. In addition to Causton's Bluff, it also shows Deptford and Sedge Bank tracts which have been associated with the bluff in the past.

The map shows nothing relating to the military occupation twenty yers earlier. No structures are shown on the property although they were present. The slough is shown as being wider and deeper, possibly penetrating more into the bluff than on earlier maps. This represents a major change from earlier portrayals. The slough may have been altered to allow rice boats access to the interior of the bluff since rice was a primary crop of the plantation during the late nineteenth century (Granger 1983:9-27).

Finally, the road network is detailed. Causton Bluff Road enters the site and, at least partially, runs along the line of modern President Street. It halts about the point where the new access road is being cut into the property and makes a turn to the north.

The road runs north, perhaps as far as the old fort gate and then divides. One road then runs due north to a bridge which probably crosses Habersham Creek. We have recovered no evidence for this road, as such, through the fort so it must have gone along the western edge of the bluff. It is possible that this is the present road used for access but the map suggests it is in the middle of the bluff. Such a road would, however, have had to traverse the earthen mounds of the fort and the use pattern in that area does not support this interpretation. The best fit with the information is that the road is really on the western edge of the bluff as it runs nothward.

If the road was on the western edge of the bluff, then the other branch can be identified with certainity as the road running through the old gate of the fort. Here there are also problems because the road runs straight to the ferry landing on Indian Point. There is no present evidence on the site for such a road but the area is heavily overgrown.

In any case, the surveying points are clearly marked, indicating a closed traverse survey of the property. The map does suggest accuracy of the land form outline and road network, if not of the features of the land form. The map has the utility of showing that no ferry was located at the Water Battery in 1885.

The Chapman Map (1906)(Not shown) is a Chatham County road map not directly concerned with the bluff. It does provide a small amount of incidental information about the bluff. The Causton's Bluff Road stops at the bluff. The termination of this road at Indian Point suggests that a ferry was still operating here at the time. This information conflicts with oral informants who maintained that the twentieth century ferry was closer to the Water Battery Site south of the earlier ferry. The generalized nature of the road may have caused this confusion since it does not turn until the river's edge, suggesting that it followed the

same road shown on the Tebeau Map (1885) where a similar configuration is shown. If the roads are the same, there has been great continuity associated with the road since it changed only in recent times.

Soil Map (1911) (Not shown) - The soil map provides only generalized information about the bluff. It has been supplanted by a more recent soil map issued in 1974 (Wilkes et al. 1974). The soil map does, however, again show the road in the same configuration noted on the 1906 Chapman Map already discussed.

The "Writers Map" (Granger 1983)(Plate 2-11) is a composite map drawn by the Works Project Administration as part of the Savannah Writers Project (1939). As a composite, it does not contain a great deal of accuracy but does suggest some of the development which has been done on the bluff. Details of interest include a negro settlement on the north central portion of the bluff, a barn on the north eastern corner, the ferry landing and a mansion. None of these are identified as to time and exact place. The negro settlement is almost certainly that shown on the Platen Map (1870) and the Hughes Map (1852). The barn is also shown on the Hughes Map, as is the mansion.

The circa 1852 features are confusing because the Writers Map is attributed to the much earlier (1785) Fenwick Map which has not yet been located. The Fenwick Map was allegedly drawn in 1785 as part of the settlement of the estate involving the heirs of Miles Brewton. It is quite possible that attribution to the Fenwick Map is incorrect and that the WPA workers simply copied the 1815 Ravenel Map which was based on the Fenwick Map. It remains to be seen whether or not the features shown on the Writers Map are from any particular period or whether they are simply placed on the bluff without regard for temporal provenience.

The E & W Laundry Map (1940)(Not shown) provides similar coverage of the bluff at a later date. Again, the road curves through the bluff, leading to the ferry at Indian Point. It is more generalized than earlier road maps and sheds little additional information on the site beyond demonstrating that the ferry in 1940 was still located at the traditional site on the northeast corner of the bluff.

The National Park Service Map (NPS 1930's) (Plate 2-12) - During the 1930's, the National Park Service considered acquiring a number of the sites containing Civil War fortifications around Savannah (Talley Kirkland, personal communication, October 1985). As part of this proposal, a series of maps were produced by an annonymous draftsman which show the Causton's Bluff defenses in great detail. Since these maps apparently coincided with logging activities on the bluff, the area was clear enough to allow accurate surveying not possible today.

The maps show the defenses as they existed prior to circa

Plate 2-10

(detail, Platen, 1875)

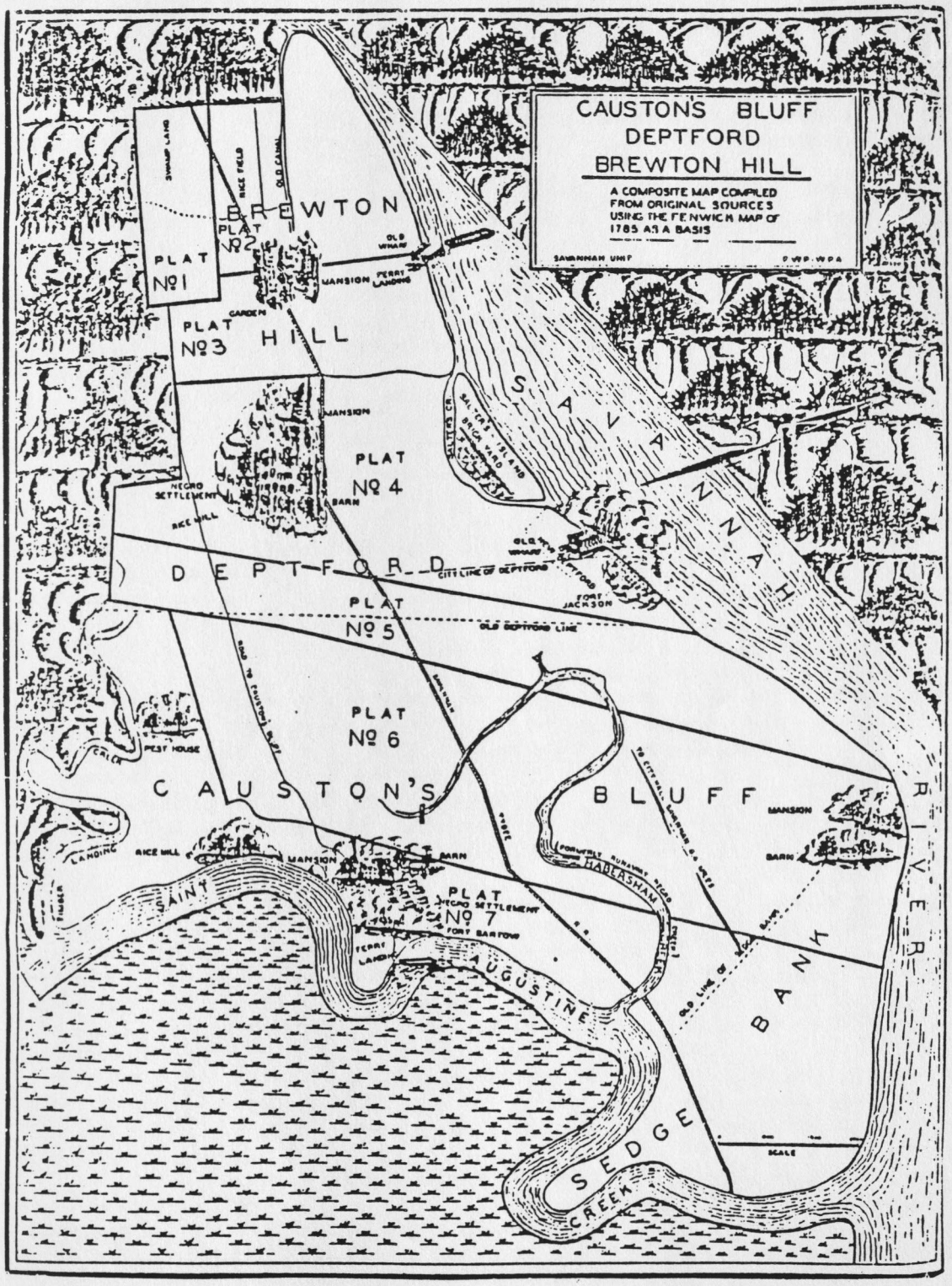

Plate 2-11

(from Grainger, 1983)

1940. In many ways, the illustrations reflect the 1865 period maps because of the detail. The one major difference is the damage done to the northwest corner of the enclosed work now called Fort Bartow.

Only two of the maps will be discussed here. These are the map of the enclosed work (Plate 2-12) and the overview of the bluff. The information contained in the overview is repeated in the more detailed maps so it is not necesssary to describe them. The enclosed work map, however, has direct antecedents in the Poe and Boutelle Maps. Since these were drawn 70 years earlier, changes which are noted have a bearing on the use of the property.

The enclosed work exhibits a number of differences when compared with the Confederate Map of 1863 (Anonymous 1863), the Boutelle Map and the Poe Map. The most obvious difference is the missing northwest corner. Here, the entire defensive wall has vanished and a pit filled with water is shown. This is due to borrow activities which probably took place during the construction of the Savannah and Tybee Railroad in the 1880's.

The damage was present in the 1930's suggesting that it occurred during a major readjustment of the land prior to 1930. The only large scale construction activity prior to that time was laying the Savannah and Tybee Island Railroad in 1887 (Granger 1983:22). During this project, it may have been necessary to use the bluff, and its earthworks, to provide bedding or ballast for the roadbed. This has not been confirmed but has a good fit with the chronological evidence presented by the maps.

Other notable features include the most detailed road network yet presented for the bluff. This includes a road running through the gateway on the southwest side and exiting through a cut made in the wall on the southeast side. This road exists today.

A second road runs through the fort just south of the northern bombproof. This road connects to a road seen on the earlier Tebeau map along the western edge of the bluff. It passes through the fort and exits through a cut in the east wall after passing through a destroyed magazine. This particular road clearly post-dates the fort and apparently does not reflect earlier traffic patterns around the earthwork.

The two roads are connected on the east side of the fort by a road which runs along outside the glacis and which ran near the Glacis Site. On the west, they are connected by the road edging the bluff today.

In terms of understanding the enclosed work, there are interesting changes only suggested by earlier maps. The western bombproof, shown on the 1863 Confederate Map, is not shown on the later Union Maps (Boutelle 1864; Poe 1864). Construction had, however, begun on this structure and this map provides details of bombproof construction.

Where the bombproof was to be located were a series of depressions. On the east side were low mounds. This is, apparently, the start of excavation to create the subterrranean

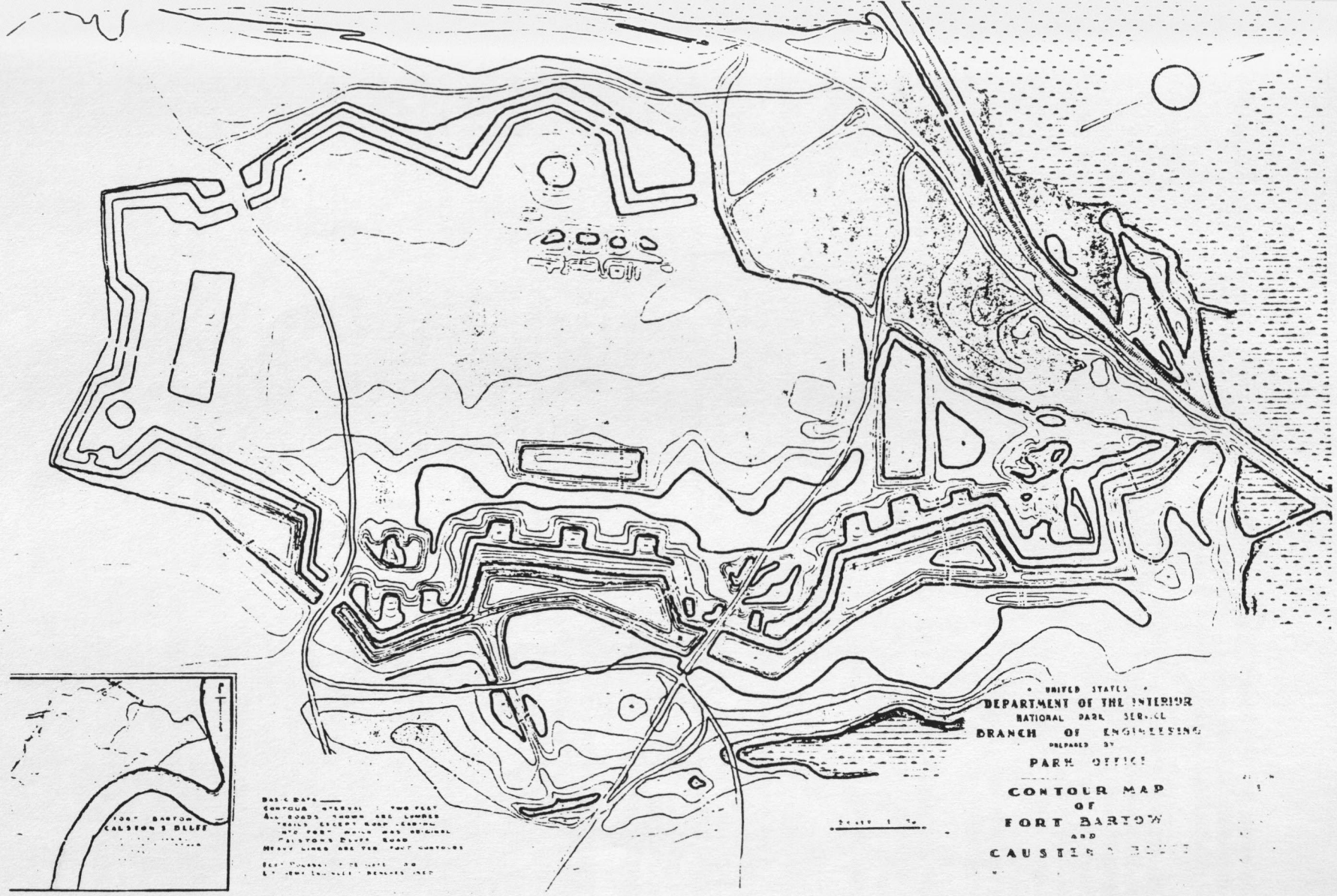

Plate 2-12

(detail, N.P.S., 1930s)

western bombproof which was never finished. It is significant that the earth was thrown up on the east side first because this is the direction from which heavy artillery fire was most likely to come.

Details of the earthworks show some deterioration as they are not sharp as much as rounded. This reflects erosion in the intervening 70 years. Of particular interest is the depression shown on the bombproofs. Each has a sunken area running its entire length. This indicates quite that the bombproof mounds were intended for shelter and not merely traverses. The map shows the magazines and traverses and provides the best view of the site. It does not show the Black Box Site, the Glacis Site or the Silver Button Site. These structures had vanished by the time the map was done.

The slough is shown but is difficult to interpret on this map. It is no longer pictured as a long narrow cut but has reverted back to a rounded tidal pond which does not intrude so deeply into the interior. There is, however, a suggestion that excavation had been done further inland.

Excavation of the slough further inland is intriguing because it now cuts the northern cross-bluff road. Since the road is shown as intact at this time, running all the way to the vicinity of the water battery, the slough had to be extended some time after the map was completed. It is difficult to say when this was done, although pre-World War II mosquito ditching conducted in Chatham County may be responsible. There are mosquito control ditches located on the northern edge of the bluff/marsh interface and the present extension of the slough may reflect added attempts to eradicate these pests.

On the larger scale map, it is possible to see the enclosed work in relation to the outworks. The road network is also shown. The northern cross-bluff road runs from its junction with the eastern road to the east, skirting the southern edge of the slouth, and ending up at the water battery whre it joined the southern road. The southern cross-bluff road went along the edge of a cleared area, coming out south of the Water Battery, paralleling the river to the battery where it joined the northern road, and then running along the river to the Indian Point Water Battery (See Fig 2 - 12).

The space enclosed by these two roads east of the enclosed work is shown as open. This open space was apparently used as a living area by men involved in a timbering operation and a sawmill. A slab concrete floor marks the site of the sawmill just north of the Water Battery. The erosion of the bluff line had not progressed very far in 1930. The line of traverses, parapets, salient and reentrant angles had not been impacted by the river. The one inconsistency between this overview and the more detailed map of the enclosed work is that the northern cross-bluff road is shown as going north, rather than east, when it crosses the Glacis Site's northern boundary.

Palynology

Twelve pollen samples were obtained from six of the fourteen sites located thus far on Causton's Bluff (Fig.2-3). With the exception of the Marina Site, these samples were collected after archaeological work was completed on the sites. The delay occurred because pollen sampling was originally not envisioned as part of the research design because no person was available to conduct the analysis. With the addition of a person acquainted with palynological analysis, limited data were collected.

Core samples taken from a transect of the Wilmington River were made available by the Georgia Department of Transportation. These deeper samples were essential to understanding the broad overview of the bluff over a long temporal span.

The pollen samples from the Causton's Bluff project were designed to provide information on environmental change, occupant subsistence, and on the validity of future pollen studies on the Georgia coast. The restricted analysis from the core column samples indicates a more mature, abundant forest community followed by increased drying or a lowered water table in the upper levels. This is indicative of not only environmental shifts but also of signficant river course changes. A drier, more saline episode is also reflected either before the middle level sample (#1 core) or between the middle and upper level samples (#1 and #11 cores).

In conjunction with the research questions proposed by the project, more specific questions were formulated before pollen sampling began. These questions dealt with both chronological and seasonal approaches to the land as well as changes due to human interaction with the environment.

1. How was the paleoenvironment of the study area different from the present setting?
2. How has the course of the St. Augustine Creek/Wilmington River changed?
3. How did these changes affect vegetation communities and aboriginal exploitation of them)
4. How did seasonal availability of plant resources affect site occupation? How important were plants in relation to shellfish and game?
5. In a historic context, can the crops, gardens and buildings of the original settler be located and defined, in part, by pollen analysis?
6. What changes were made in land use as a result of environmental suitability and economic demand for various crops?

Of the 17 samples examined from a variety of strata, six had an insufficient amount of pollen to include in an interpretive study. Three were top core samples from the Wilmington River composed of present river bottom sands. The remaining three were from sites on Causton's Bluff. The majority of samples contained a small amount of silicates and a few humates.

Table 2-1
Pollen Sample Provenience

Sample #	Site	Test Unit
1	Marina	Level 5, Unit 944
2	Marina	Unit 944, Feature 28
3	Marina	Level 07, Unit 944
4	Sassafras	Wall, shell concentration UNit??
6	Marina	Level 5, Unit 956
7	not from site	Tidal Slough
8	Glacis	"Occupational level"
9	Wet Blanket	"Occupational level"
10	Indian Point	"Occupational level"
11	Marina	Unit 956
12	Bombproof	Mortar sample, fireplace
	Wilmington River Core Samples	
1	45-46.5 feet depth	Medium dense gray sand/clay
2	55-56.5 feet depth	Soft, black silty clay
11	10-11.5 feet depth	Medium dense gray sand

The modern pollen background was estabished using observations recorded by Brauer on Skidaway Island which include seasonal pollination patterns as well as a large variety of plant species (Brauer 1986)(Appendix O). A core sample from the Wilmington River adjacent to the Varnedoe Bridge provided additional information.

Very accurate depth levels and soil descriptions are available for the core and the pollen record is a good indicator not only of vegetation but of pollen preservation under various conditions. Unfortunately, the lack of data correlating core depth and time period made this core somewhat useless in terms of dating Causton's Bluff archaeologial sites at this time. Still, the information is helpful. Since no marked evolution in the basic structure of pollen has occurred since the Eocene (Penny 1969:351), no attempt was made to assign time periods to these cores.

The Silver Button and Black Box Sites, dating from the nineteenth century, could not be sampled at any known or approximate occupation levels because they had been leveled following archaeological work to clear the right-of-way into the interior of the bluff.

Although it was outside the permitting area, Indian Point, the northeastern point of the bluff, was also sampled. It provided a bluff face with exposed occupational levels and surface collections on the "beach" in front of it yielded a possible Paleoindian point as well as numerous early Archaic points. Sample 10 was taken from a pot hunters hole in the occupational layer, represented at this point by shell midden and much darker organic soil.

The pollen sample contained very few humates and crystals and an insufficient amount of pollen. The fragile condition of the site and the small number of Paleoindian sites on the coast, indicate that this site should be sampled again to determine not only the age but to define sea levels, environment and culture stages.

Oral Tradition

On occasion, relic hunters encountered on site told crew members the fort had been started as a defense against the Spanish. One person who worked with the Coastal Georgia Archaeological Society during the metal detector sweeps reported the first defenses built on the bluff had been constructed during the pre-1750 period (Ralph Cox, personal communication, dated March 1986). A similar statement was elicited from a relic hunter who was asked to leave the property and refused to give his name. Constant reference to a fort in colonial times is not supported by documentary sources. No artifactual or landscape evidence was found to support it either.

A commonly held belief that the site was also a Union Army fort is not supported by documents in the Official Records which detail the Federal occupation of Savannah. The site was inspected after the evacuation and it was certainly occupied for a short time, probably by members of the Twentieth Army Corps (Flynn 1864:780-81), but no alterations appear to have been made which found their way into the official record. Some artifacts, such as the Union Corps badge, suggest Federal troops were camped on the bluff. Documentary information confirms this (Bigbee and Bigbee 1865).

Most of the Federal defensive works were much closer to the city and many followed the line of entrenchments built during the War of 1812 (Poe 1865:62). The line of fortifications along Goebels Avenue was also improved, especially Confederate Fort Brown which was enclosed (Gillmore 1865:203).

Evidence for an underground Confederate hospital is difficult to trace. The documentary source for this allegation seems to have been C. C. Jones (1890) but no source is given. The absence of medically related objects on the bluff sites investigated as part of this project suggests a hospital was located here. An underground hospital does not seem likely, even given the extensive bombproof construction. At any rate, no contemporary documents examined for this project reveal an underground hospital.

A tent hospital was located at Causton's Bluff. It was inspected in late December 1862 and found to be in "excellent condition" (Williams 1862). Deficiencies were noted in the absence of adequate supplies of quinine. This was important because most of the patients were suffering from "fever and ague", which fit the description of malaria.

The sources, when placed within the context of the theoretical orientation articulated above, dictated the manner in which the actual recovery of materials would proceed.

FIELD METHODOLOGY

The field work was originally planned as a stratified random sample. The corridor through the bluff created the stratification and the excavation units were to be positioned on the basis of a table of random numbers. This was not carried out due to the necessity of testing certain areas of sites where materials had been found. Accordingly, a combination of systematic and random testing was utilized. Areas already known to contain materials were subjected to testing and additional testing was carried out as materials were located.

Random test pits were still utilized on sites, especially the aboriginal sites which were found to contain few features. The random excavation units were positioned by using a table of random numbers. Some of the aboriginal sites were also excavated by using a pattern, after application of random units, simply to cover additional area. Finally, the necessity of answering questions about a site as excavation proceeded dictated that many test pits would be located in response to changing needs.

Techniques

A grid system was designed to utilize the earlier Coastal Georgia Archaeological Society Hutting Area grid yet cover the entire bluff. Thus, all the sites on the bluff are tied into the grid except Wet Blanket and Indian Point. These are located with reference to the grid system because the archaeological mapping included linking the earlier Thomas and Hutton survey hubs to the grid during mapping of the Marina Site. All sites were then located on the base map provided by Thomas and Hutton (Fig. 2-1).

Excavation units during the mitigation phase were virtually all two meter by two meter test pits. The wider scope of ground uncovered by such pits enabled subtle soil changes to be noted and recorded and allowed longer profiles for inspection. There were some variations on these larger test pits in which several would be linked together to form a trench, as was done in the primary work at the bombproof site.

A few 1 meter by 2 meter excavation units were opened. These test pits were utilized when additional work was suggested by the findings in a test pit, yet the evidence sought did not justify the larger unit. Usually this occurred when inspecting features relevant to construction piers or following out features on an aboriginal site.

During the phase I investigations, virtually all of the units were 50 centimeter by 50 centimeter tests. Two meter square units were used by the Coastal Georgia Archaeological Society during the winter of 1983-84 testing in the hutting area adjacent to the Black Box site to allow for wider exposure which might provide profiles relating to living floors.

Excavation procedures

Excavation proceeded on most sites using shovels until soil anomalies were encountered. Anomalies were trowel-excavated. All

excavated material was passed through 1/4-inch hardware cloth to ensure continuity with the preliminary survey. Field recording was done on standardized forms (Appendix L). Field notes by the project manager and principal investigator supplemented the forms. Photographs, black and white and color, were taken of features and profiles. Drawings were made of unit floors where anomalies were encountered and of profiles. As a rule of thumb, most excavation units were profiled on the north and east walls because the light in the late afternoon would be on those walls. Drawings were further detailed using the Munsell soil color notations for additional clarity.

Laboratory procedures included washing all artifacts except nails and faunal remains which were cleaned with brushes and left to dry. Once the artifacts were cleaned, they were identified and catalogued and the data entered on a computer for storage and later analysis.

All field notes, drawings, and measurements have been placed in storage at the Archaeological Laboratory at Armtstrong State College. Together with all photographs and slides, all artifacts are currently stored at the Archaeology Laboratory, Armstrong State College, where they may be examined by interested persons.

The results of the project are consolidated in sections dealing with the prehistoric and historic occupations. The historic materials have been divided into domestic and military occupations. A section on interpretation follows the description of the sites and their materials.

Limitations

The project had certain limitations. As a single corridor crossing the bluff many areas of known archaeological importance were not tested because they were outside the permitting area. This naturally affected the interpretation of information.

There is a lack of documentary data on black settlements which affected our ability to interpret the slave midden, especially as we were unable to identify any structures on the Silver Button Site. This meant that our interpretation of the slaves and freedmen who occupied that site comes from a very small sample of discarded trash.

There is a corresponding lack of data on the eighteenth century occupation following the death of Thomas Causton. Someone was utilizing the site because we identified a domestic structure (Glacis Site) which is now believed to have been occupied during the Revolutionary War and post-war periods.

There is also a lack of data on the early nineteenth century occupation, although it is not as poorly documented as the eighteenth century. With the exception of the published reminiscences of the Clifford Rowland (Granger 1983), the lack of data on the twentieth century also hurts our understanding of people and events on Causton's Bluff.

Looting of the sites by relic hunters hurt our ability to recover a representative sample of materials. On-going looting made the problem worse and created much ill-feeling between those who felt the artifacts were personally important or valuable and the archaeologists who were trying to recover, analyze and publish the information they recovered.